



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE TEWA LANGUAGE

By JOHN P. HARRINGTON

THE study on which the following notes are based was made as a part of the linguistic survey of the Pueblo area conducted by the School of American Archæology, in collaboration with the Bureau of American Ethnology. The Tewa language is spoken at the pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambé, Pojoaque, and Tesuque, all of which lie in the Rio Grande basin about twenty miles northwest of Sante Fé, New Mexico; and also at the Tusayan village called Hano or Tewa, in Arizona. The dialectic variations are slight. Tewa belongs to the Tanoan linguistic stock according to Powell's classification.

Tewa speech is excessively nasal and much broken by the glottal stop. Like Chinese, it makes use of "tones." There are 45 distinct "individual sounds"; twelve of these sounds are vowels and may be long or short. The language has been voluminously recorded by means of a scientific alphabet. In this outline more awkward and less accurate orthography is employed.

There are five classes of sounds. An inverted period after a symbol indicates that the sound which it represents is long. The letters have their standard "continental" values unless otherwise indicated. 1. Orinasal (i. e., "nasalized") vowels: a<sup>n</sup>, a<sup>n</sup>, æ<sup>n</sup> (Eng. *man*, nasalized), æ<sup>n</sup>, e<sup>n</sup> (Fr. close e, nasalized, e<sup>n</sup>, i<sup>n</sup>, i<sup>n</sup>, ɔ<sup>n</sup> (Eng. *water*, nasalized), ɔ<sup>n</sup>, o<sup>n</sup> (Fr. close o, nasalized), o<sup>n</sup>, u<sup>n</sup>, u<sup>n</sup>. 2. Oral vowels: a, a', e (Fr. close e), e', i, i', o (Fr. close o), o', u, u'. 3. "Semivowels": γ (Eng. *you*, but fricative), w<sup>n</sup> (Eng. *w*, nasalized), w (Eng. *w*). 4. Larynx consonants: <sup>h</sup> (audible breath), h (harsh laryngeal h), hw (harsh laryngeal h with simultaneous rounding of the lips), ' (glottal stop). 5. Oral consonants: k (South Ger. *k*), k' (glottally affected k), k<sup>h</sup> (aspirated k), g<sup>n</sup> (almost Eng. *finger*), g, kw (k with simultaneous rounding of the lips), n (a peculiar short nasal sound made by retracting the tongue and simultaneously opening the nose passage), t (South Ger. *t*), t' (glottally affected t), t<sup>h</sup> (aspi-

rated t), d<sup>n</sup> (Bantu "nd"), ρ (l-like r), ts, ts' (glottally affected ts), s, tš (Eng. *chew*), tš' (glottally affected tš), s (Eng. *she*), n, ñ (Sp. *mañana*), p (South Ger. p), p' (glottally affected p), p<sup>h</sup> (aspirated p), b<sup>n</sup> (Bantu "mb"), v (bilabial v), m.

Vowels are glottally broken in two ways: (1) The glottis is instantaneously closed when about half the vowel has been pronounced, written, e. g., a'a; (2) The glottis is instantaneously closed when about three quarters of the vowel has been pronounced, written, e. g., a<sup>a</sup>. The sounds g<sup>n</sup> and g, d<sup>n</sup> and ρ, b<sup>n</sup> and v interchange according to sentence phonetics. The sound l occurs only in foreign words and in the word meaning butterfly in the San Ildefonso dialect (polamimi). Syllables all have the structure: consonant + vowel = *n*. <sup>h</sup> occurs before k, k<sup>h</sup>, kw, t, t<sup>h</sup>, ts, s, tš, š, p, and p<sup>h</sup> when a vowel precedes. Unanalyzable "roots" consist of 1, 2, 3, or 4 syllables. Stress accent is distinguishable in some polysyllabic roots only, e. g., t'owa, people; and as sentence stress.

The "tones" contain the elements of "pitch," "leap," and "duration." There are three "pitches": (1) sentence- or mid-pitch, (2) below sentence-pitch, and (3) high above sentence-pitch. There are two "leaps": (1) level or slightly rising, and (2) falling. As regards duration, there are two vowel lengths as noted above. The "tones" are in Tewa as necessary to the understanding of a word as they are in Chinese. Common words are frequently distinguished from one another by "tone" only. Thus: p'o (low falling long), water; p'o (mid falling long), trail; p'o (high level long), moon; p'o (high level short), head; p<sup>h</sup>o (low falling short), hole; p<sup>h</sup>o (mid level short), snow; p<sup>h</sup>o (high level short), hair; etc., etc. The scientific writing of the "tones" requires special symbols which are placed after the vowels. The writing of the "tones" is omitted in this outline for typographical reasons.

There are many "parts of speech," each of which behaves differently, and for which we have in English no satisfactory nomenclature. Perhaps they may all be reduced to "nouns," "pronouns," "verbs," and "modifying elements."

The governing "part of speech" is the pronoun, which expresses personality, and together with the verb forms a complete sentence expressing several or all of the following categories: (1) self or non-

self; (2) position or direction; (3) state of being animal, vegetable or made thing, or mineral; (4) oneness, duality, or state of being three or more; (5) exister in position or mover in direction, actor upon, acted upon, actor upon self, exister or mover in relation to which exister exists or mover moves, exister or mover in relation to which actor acts upon acted upon. See account of the prefixed pronoun below.

There are six classes of words which can be called nouns:

1. Age-sex nouns. There is formal distinction of singular and 2 + plural. Appositive pronouns distinguish singular, dual, and 3 + plural. Thus: *se<sup>n</sup>n* (mid falling long), man in prime, 2 + plural *se<sup>n</sup>nnæ<sup>n</sup>n*; 'enuke, boy, 2 + plural 'e<sup>n</sup>nu<sup>n</sup>e<sup>n</sup> ñæ<sup>n</sup>n.

2. A numerous class of nouns denoting animal personalities. Number is not formally distinguished. But appositive pronouns distinguish singular, dual, and 3 + plural number. Thus: *ke'* (mid falling long), bear.

3. A numerous class of nouns denoting vegetal personalities, made objects, body-parts, and some mineral objects. Number is not formally distinguished. But appositive pronouns distinguish singular, dual, and 3 + plural number. Thus: *te'* (low falling long), cottonwood tree; *se<sup>n</sup>n* (low falling long), horn (body-part).

4. A numerous class of nouns denoting mineral personalities. Number is not formally distinguished. But appositive pronouns distinguish: (1) singular and 3 + plural collective, and (2) dual number. Thus: *k'u'* (low falling long), stone.

5. Numeral nouns. These denote number. They are mostly used as first members of noun plus noun compounds; appositive pronouns agree with the second member of such compounds, expressed or understood. Thus: *poye*, three; *si*, six; *sise<sup>n</sup>nnæ<sup>n</sup>n* (compound noun), six men. The numeral system is decimal.

6. Adjectival nouns. These are most frequently either compounded or coupled by means of peculiar connective particles which we have termed couplers, with other nouns, expressed or understood, with which appositive pronouns agree. If the other noun belongs to class 1 or 2 the coupler is singular 'i<sup>n</sup>i, dual 'i<sup>n</sup>n, 3 + plural 'i<sup>n</sup>n; if the other noun belongs to class 3 the coupler is singular 'i<sup>n</sup>n, dual 'i<sup>n</sup>n, 3 + plural 'i<sup>n</sup>i; if the other noun belongs to class 4 the

coupler is singular 'i'i, dual 'i<sup>n</sup>n, 3+ plural 'i'i. Thus ke' (low falling long), strength, strong; se<sup>n</sup>nke'i'i, or ke'i'ise<sup>n</sup>n or se<sup>n</sup>nke' or ke'se<sup>n</sup>n, a strong man; ke'i'i, a strong one (man, e. g., understood; cf. Ger. ein starker). Some nouns of this class have forms for dual and plural partially or wholly different from the singular form. Thus: k'u'tsæ'i'i, one little stone; k'u'taye'd<sup>n</sup>i'i<sup>n</sup>n, two little stones.

To the nouns of all six classes the diminutive element 'e or the augmentative element γo can be added as the last member of a compound. 'e in the singular has high level short "tone"; in the 2+ plural, high falling short tone. The singular and plural of γo are the same. The diminutive and augmentative do not in any way affect the agreement of the noun to which they are added.

The language loves to form noun plus noun compounds, thus, like German, greatly enriching its vocabulary. Nouns of class 1 are used as last members only, nouns of class 5 are used as first members only. But two nouns of the same class can be compounded together and nouns of class 1 can act as first members before nouns of class 6. The appositive pronoun agrees with the second member of every compound. Thus: k'u', stone; se<sup>n</sup>n, man; k'u'se<sup>n</sup>n, stone man; se<sup>n</sup>n, man; ke', strength; se<sup>n</sup>nke', man-strength, strong man; ts'e', yellowness; 'o<sup>n</sup>, brownness; ts'e'o<sup>n</sup>, yellow-brown color.

Function as subject, direct object, or referential object is not formally expressed by the noun, but is expressed by the pronoun in apposition to which the noun stands. Possessive case is expressed by postfixing -vi; thus: ke'vi, the bear's. A large number of noun-postfixes do the work of our English prepositions. Thus: ke'ive, inside the bear; te'piγe, toward the cottonwood tree; se<sup>n</sup>nw'a'gi, like a man.

There are two kinds of pronouns, free and prefixed. Free pronouns can be omitted; prefixed pronouns can not be omitted.

Free pronouns denoting the speaker and the spoken to are: na<sup>n</sup>, I or me; na<sup>n</sup>'i<sup>n</sup>n, we 2+ or us 2+; 'u<sup>n</sup>un, you 1; 'u<sup>n</sup>n, you 2+.

Another set of free pronouns consists of those denoting the spoken of. One group of these distinguishes three degrees of remoteness: næ<sup>n</sup>, this; hæ<sup>n</sup>, yon; 'o, that (distant). Other free pronouns which belong here are: 'i, that already referred to; to<sup>n</sup>on, who; ha, what. Free pronouns of this set, with the exception of

to<sup>no</sup> and ha, may add the couplers used with nouns of class 6. Thus: næ<sup>n</sup>se<sup>n</sup>*n*, næ<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>ise<sup>n</sup>*n*, etc., this man.

The free pronoun may add the possessive -vi and the other noun post-fixes like nouns.

The prefixed pronouns precede the verb, forming with it a complete sentence. In fact, all elements except the prefixed pronoun and the verb can in any sentence be omitted and understood. Appositional nouns can be placed outside of this pronoun-verb cluster or can be tucked in between prefixed pronoun and verb. Thus: d<sup>n</sup>omu<sup>u</sup>, I-him-saw; se<sup>n</sup>*n* d<sup>n</sup>omu<sup>u</sup>, man I-him-saw; d<sup>n</sup>omu<sup>u</sup> se<sup>n</sup>*n*, I-him-saw man; d<sup>n</sup>ose<sup>n</sup>*n*mu<sup>u</sup>, I-him-man-saw. The verb with its prefixed pronoun usually stands last in the sentence for emphasis.

There are five series of prefixed pronouns. Some verbs may be used with more than one series.

1. Prefixed pronouns used with verbs denoting position, direction, or state; most of these verbs are intransitive: 'o-, I; g<sup>n</sup>a-, we 2; g<sup>n</sup>i-, we 3+; 'u<sup>n</sup>-, you 1; d<sup>n</sup>a-, you 2; 'i-, you 3+; na<sup>n</sup>, he, she, or it; d<sup>n</sup>a-, they 2; d<sup>n</sup>i, they 3+. With these pronouns the commonest verbs are such as: (a) position-verbs: w<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>, to stand; 'æ<sup>n</sup>*n* (mid level long), to sit; k'o, to lie; t'o<sup>o</sup>, to be within; tša, to be situated; mu<sup>n</sup>, to be or to have; (b) motion-verbs: mæ<sup>n</sup>, to go; 'æ<sup>n</sup> (mid falling long), to come; γi<sup>n</sup>, to be moving about within certain limits; (c) state-verbs: he', to be sick; d<sup>n</sup>a<sup>a</sup>, to lack, want, or love. Some "impersonal" weather verbs require 'i instead of na<sup>n</sup> in the third person singular. Thus: 'ikwɔ<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>o<sup>o</sup>, it is raining.

2. Referential prefixed pronouns used with verbs denoting position, direction, or state. The subject is always in the third person. They are: d<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for me; g<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for us 2; g<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for us 3+; 'u<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for you 1; d<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for you 2; 'u<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for you 3+; 'u<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for him; d<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for them 2; d<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>*n*-, he or they for them 3+. Thus: d<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>*n*γi<sup>n</sup>, they 3+ are running around for them 3+; d<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>*n*kwɪ'æ<sup>n</sup><sup>u</sup><sup>æ</sup>*n*, a woman in prime is coming with reference to me (i. e., I am going to get married).

3. Prefixed pronouns denoting subject plus object. There are eighty-one different combinations of subject and object denotation.

singular, dual, and plural number, and first, second, and third person, a special series of these pronouns being used to express imperative mode. Thus: d<sup>o</sup>he<sup>γ</sup>i, I kill it; na<sup>n</sup>he<sup>γ</sup>i, you 1 kill it; ovæ<sup>n</sup>he<sup>γ</sup>i, you 1 kill them 2; 'æ<sup>n</sup>he<sup>γ</sup>i, we 2 kill it.<sup>1</sup>

4. Referential prefixed pronouns denoting subject plus direct object plus referential object. There are eighty-one combinations of case, number, and person, including special pronominal forms for the imperative mode. Thus: w<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>pa<sup>a</sup>, I-it-or-them-for-you-I-am-making.<sup>1</sup>

5. Reciprocal-reflexive prefixed pronouns. Reciprocal and reflexive action is not formally distinguished. These are: d<sup>n</sup>e-, I-me; 'æ<sup>n</sup>-, we-2-us-2; 'ivi-, we-3+-us-3+; b<sup>n</sup>i-, you-1-you-1; d<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>-, you-2-you-2; 'u<sup>n</sup>vi-, you-3+-you-3+; 'i-, he-him; d<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>-, they-2-them-2; d<sup>n</sup>ivi-, they-3+-them-3+. Imperative: 'o-, you-1-you-1!; b<sup>n</sup>a-, you-2-you-2!; b<sup>n</sup>i-, you-3+-you-3+! Thus: d<sup>n</sup>esoge, I seat myself; d<sup>n</sup>ivimu<sup>u</sup>, each of them 3+ looked at himself, or they 3+ looked at each other.

The prefixed pronoun forms given above are those used in apposition with nouns of classes 1, 2, and 3. Nouns of class 4 require a singular pronoun form in apposition with their (collective) 3+ plural.

The Tewa question is formed by placing ti before or ka after a sentence. Thus: ti na<sup>n</sup>he<sup>γ</sup>, is he sick?

The negative is formed by affixing wi before and pi after the pronoun-verb cluster. Thus: wina<sup>n</sup>he<sup>γ</sup>pi, he is not sick.

Verb plus verb compounds are very frequent and exceedingly interesting. The position-, motion-, and state-verbs are especially frequent as second members. As in the instance of nouns, the second member has the pronominal agreement. Thus: d<sup>n</sup>etšæ<sup>n</sup>nu<sup>n</sup>, I make myself jump (class 5), but 'otšæ<sup>n</sup>nu<sup>n</sup>d<sup>n</sup>a<sup>a</sup>, I want to jump (class 1).

Verb forms are very irregular as regards addition of adverbial elements. These are affixed or scattered through the sentence, and a certain verb usually requires and permits certain elements only. These elements include those which give expression to tense, on the basis of which we could establish 30 or more "conjugations."

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-two forms serve to express eighty-one combinations, one form in some instances expressing several combinations.

Position, direction, reiteration, realness, idealness, authority for statement, permission, potentiality, and many other adverbial notions are expressed by these modificatory elements, for whose nicety of meaning the student in many instances acquires appreciation and linguistic feeling only with difficulty. Thus 'i'ona<sup>n</sup>mæ<sup>n</sup>, he (already referred to) (there) went; d<sup>n</sup>omu<sup>n</sup>'wa<sup>'a</sup>, I (actually) saw him.

Some verbs have with 3+ plural pronoun agreement a root entirely different from that used in the singular and dual. Thus ketō<sup>n</sup>, to fall (singular and dual); γemu<sup>n</sup>, to fall (3+ plural). Such verbs employ the 3+ plural form with a third person singular prefixed pronoun in agreement with a 3+ plural noun of class 4. Thus: se<sup>n</sup>·nnæ<sup>n</sup> d<sup>n</sup>iγemu<sup>n</sup>, the 3+ men fall; k'u<sup>n</sup> na<sup>n</sup>γemu<sup>n</sup> (instead of na<sup>n</sup>ketō<sup>n</sup>!) the 3+ stones fall.

Sentence syntax is well developed. As in Nahuatl and Ute, English subordinate clauses are in Tewa rendered by coördinate clauses.

Tewa is rich in sentence-words or interjections. Salutations and polite expressions are very idiomatic and fixed. Ritualistic expressions in what is either an archaic or a distorted form of the language are taught to the initiates of some of the secret societies.

The vocabulary of Tewa is immense. The language is frightfully difficult for an English-speaking person to learn, and is still more difficult to record consistently by means of our present mediæval system of writing and orthography.

As an illustration of connected discourse a very carefully translated Tewa version of the Lord's Prayer, accompanied by interlinear translation, is appended.

na <sup>n</sup> ·i <sup>n</sup> nb <sup>n</sup> i	tapa	γósi	'omá <sup>h</sup> kówa
Us 2 + of	father	God (Sp. Dios)	that (distant) sky in
'u <sup>n</sup> æ <sup>n</sup> ·n	d <sup>n</sup> i,	na <sup>n</sup> ·i <sup>n</sup> n	'u <sup>n</sup> nnb <sup>n</sup> i k <sup>h</sup> ·w <sup>n</sup> æ <sup>n</sup>
you 1 sit (or are)	there as is well known,	we 2 +	you 1 of name

w<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>nd<sup>n</sup>a<sup>'a</sup>.

it I or we 2 + with reference to you 1 love.

na <sup>n</sup> ·i <sup>n</sup> n	g <sup>n</sup> id <sup>n</sup> a <sup>'a</sup>	'ivi'ami	ha	'u <sup>n</sup> nn
We 2 +	we 3 + wish	we 3 + ourselves 3 + make do	what	you 1
'u <sup>n</sup> d <sup>n</sup> a <sup>'a</sup> w <sup>n</sup> á·gi.				
you 1 wish as.				



na<sup>n'i'n</sup>      g<sup>n'id'a'a</sup>      'u<sup>n'unb'i</sup>      k<sup>h'u</sup>      næ<sup>n</sup>na<sup>n</sup>ng<sup>n</sup>e  
 We 2 +      we 3 + want      you 1 of      government      this earth on  
 'omá<sup>h</sup>kówa<sup>n</sup>á<sup>gi</sup>.      d<sup>n</sup>imæ<sup>n</sup>.  
 that (distant) sky in as      me or us 2 + give!

na<sup>n'i'n</sup>      næ<sup>n</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>·</sup>      na<sup>n'i'n</sup>nb<sup>n</sup>i      b<sup>n</sup>uwa      næ<sup>n</sup>t<sup>h</sup>a<sup>·</sup>pi.  
 Us 2 +      this day      us 2 + of      breadstuff      this day for.  
 hepi      d<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>'owo<sup>ye</sup>      na<sup>n</sup>'i<sup>n</sup>nb<sup>n</sup>i  
 And    it or them 2 + with reference to me or us 2 + you 1 forgive !    us 2 + of  
 t'ew<sup>n</sup>o'd<sup>n</sup>i<sup>i</sup>    na<sup>n</sup>'i<sup>n</sup>      t'ówa      'i'owo<sup>ye</sup>wá<sup>g</sup>ib<sup>n</sup>a<sup>·</sup>a.  
 ugly magic    we 2 +    person or people    we 3 + it or them 2 + forgive as also.

wipimæ<sup>n</sup>ni<sup>n</sup>      wége  
 Not me or us 2 + you 1 lead !      whither  
 'ivit'ew<sup>n</sup>onu<sup>·</sup>ami<sup>i</sup>wé      hew<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>b<sup>n</sup>o'o  
 we 3 + ourselves 3 + ugly, where magic make do      moreover

'ipenise<sup>n</sup>nd<sup>n</sup>i<sup>i</sup>      'ívi      'iwe<sup>pi</sup>  
 that (already known) Horned Dead Man from    him (already known) of    locality from  
 d<sup>n</sup>'ik<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>g<sup>n</sup>ena<sup>n</sup>.  
 me or us 2 + you 1 help !

hepaha'a      'u<sup>n'unb'i</sup>      k<sup>h'u</sup>      hepaha'a  
 And that is what it is    you 1 of    government    and that is what it is  
 'u<sup>n'unb'i</sup>      ke<sup>·</sup>      hepaha'a      'u<sup>n'unb'i</sup>      má<sup>h</sup>kówa  
 you 1 of    strength    and that is what it is    you 1 of    sky in  
 hæ<sup>n</sup>nhew<sup>n</sup>æ<sup>n</sup>b<sup>n</sup>o'o    t'æ<sup>h</sup>ki.    hæ<sup>n</sup>he.  
 time moreover    all.    That is right.

SCHOOL OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY,  
 SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO.